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[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Pages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Pages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

● 291 301 Dress.---Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Pages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.---Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Pages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Pages, x, 72-76.

[121] Pages, 49.

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343 The ramada or shade, čɛ́ ́niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 Storehouses and bins.---A prosperous family
251 of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, ~~shelled~~ acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of
[621] provisions, more acorns would be bought from someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

● 291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171]

[157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states [834] that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.---It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven
291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [304] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi'koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´'ɨč (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool,
286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki´'ɨč) of thick hide, deer
294 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very hot weather or when making a long journey.
281 Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type
281 of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

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their construction were all unintelligible. M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called woñka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k:t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 304 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 281 [202] An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

291 281 [681] Women's dress.---Women also wore a buckskin breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] 286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´n:p) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
[482] dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 291 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordinary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ič, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikit) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Wakaachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 [121] Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

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[P. 146 b] Choinimni

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

●291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

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[P. 177 b] Chuckchansi

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
598 getting seeds or at other work far from home,
512 the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that
512 they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

512 Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were
513 "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
[281] chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew <u>real</u> how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 <u>Acorns</u>.---Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

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Western Mono NS25

W Y 343 515 clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513] Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tuŝac. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533 No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile'kač) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u'tač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y ● 291 [439] <u>Footgear</u>---Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

W Y ● 291

A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Y [237 439]

Rabbitskin blanket.---The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Y 292 237

Dance costume.---The shaman's dance skirt, which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bⁱ, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´bⁱ, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W Y 292 462 435

The skirt was made by either men or women, but the headdress was made only by men. An old man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Y 301 304

Ear and nose plugs.---Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Y W 304

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

W Y 302 [192]

Tattooing.---There were no special practitioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

Paint.---Face and body paints were hapa´ka o´čːk (red), toiye´'i očːk (white), and mutskai´wːk očːk (black, i.e., charcoal) [all teams Michahai.]

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Chapter 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

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Dress and bodily habits.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

The lake Indians lived principally upon [illegible], fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

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"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground.

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them.

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about."

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies.

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[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

[142] [177]

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

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tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and comfortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

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Lewanit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wahnemkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joaquin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *ku-pahs'-mas*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

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and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, *"He'-am tan'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

"The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

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"Old Brin," an aged, blind Wukchumma, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-ki'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I donot know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) vashed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used red, white, and black. and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to makefire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice smooth place a their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

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Lewaynit and Hawtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ishew and Wahnemket. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

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early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for